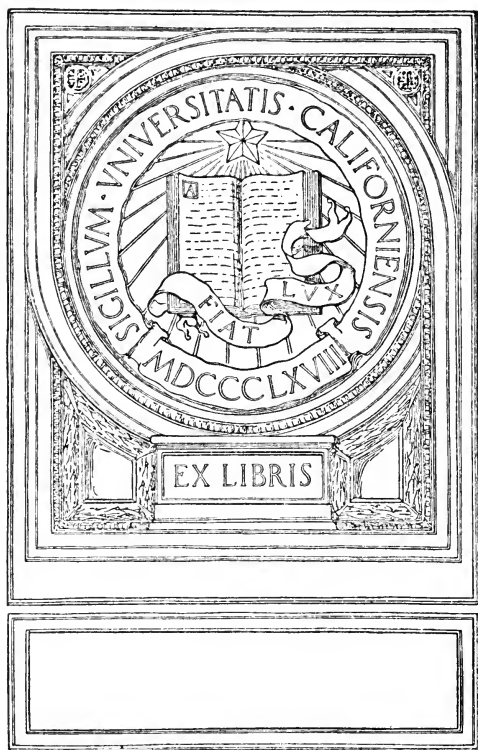


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LETTERS

SELECTED FROM THE

COLLECTION OF AUTOGRAPHS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

WILLIAM TITE, ESQ., M.P., V.P.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXIV.



LETTERS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF WILLIAM TITE, ESQ. M.P.

THE following Letters claim attention upon three distinct grounds. They proceed from persons to whose names there attaches a never-dying interest; they are of historical importance; and they are peculiarly characteristic of their writers.

The first of them, regarded as an autograph, is an excellent specimen of the large distinct hand written by CHARLES I. at the commencement of his reign. This writing has been greatly praised. Some persons have even termed it beautiful. Others may deem it laboured, weak, uncertain, and like the early efforts of a school-boy. All will admit that it has the great merit of being in the highest degree legible.

The letter itself, when read in connection with passing events, is full of character. It is addressed by the King to his sister Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, then a widow, and living as an exile at the Hague. The great war which had desolated Germany for nearly fifteen years was still in progress. Gustavus Adolphus had died on the field of Lutzen in November 1632; but the cause for which he had shed his blood still continued, after many fluctuations, to hold up its head. There had stepped into the place of the great hero, Axel Oxenstiern, the Chancellor of Sweden, a man who shared the Protestant feeling and the undespairing energy of his renowned master; but Oxenstiern exhibited these qualities not in the

field, but in the cabinet. By diplomatic skill, displayed in the continual formation of new arrangements and combinations, Oxenstiern was enabled to recruit the Swedish veterans who had fought their way into the very heart of Germany, and to bring new armies into the field to their support. A great part of the hereditary dominions of the Palatinate family had now been won back again. Elizabeth's eldest son was of age to take the government. Oxenstiern was prepared to yield the country up to him upon terms in which the Duke of Simmeren, the administrator of the Palatinate during the young Elector's minority, was willing to concur, but which the desolated country was too poor to carry out. Charles I., the boy's maternal uncle, was appealed to for assistance. There was infinite discussion, and profession, and delay, but no help. Elizabeth, long versed as she had been in disappointment, was deeply wounded. She felt inclined to abandon all hope. It was not so with Oxenstiern. He determined to make another trial, and for that purpose despatched his son, Baron John Oxenstiern, who had been in England before, on a special mission to the Court of Charles I. His design was really to ascertain whether or not any expectation might be entertained of assistance from England. On his route Oxenstiern passed through Holland, and conferred with Elizabeth. His youthful animation and trustfulness aroused the decayed confidence of the deserted Queen, and once more she felt inclined to hope. She was again doomed to discover that she had trusted to a broken reed. Oxenstiern arrived in London at a most unpropitious moment. The intrigue against Spain in the Low Countries having been brought to an end, the King was now intriguing with Spain against the United Provinces, and, under pretence of clearing the Channel of pirates, was about to set forth a great fleet, one object of which was to act against Holland. At such a time, when the Spanish party in the English government was dominant, but dared not avow its objects, it was impossible to enter into

closer relations with Sweden, all whose movements and objects were adverse to Spain. The young man failed entirely. He was played with in a manner not yet, it is to be feared, quite obsolete among diplomatists and official persons; and, after a residence of some months in England, left the country disgusted and annoyed. He even refused to accept the present of plate which it was customary to bestow upon departing ambassadors. He would not himself receive benefit—he is said to have declared—from an embassy which had not advantaged those who sent him.*

This was the mission referred to in the following letter. Although its utter failure was well known, and occasioned a great deal of muttering and discontent among the partisans of Elizabeth, the particular excuse made to Oxenstiern by the English government did not appear, so far as we have observed, in the papers of the time. The letter now published intimates what it was. The English ministers picked a hole in Oxenstiern's instructions, and, declaring them to be insufficient, rode off in triumph at their own ingenuity, vainly imagining, as they dismissed young Oxenstiern, that they could blind the world as to the real grounds of their refusal.

But we have seen that besides Sweden there was another party to this transaction—the King's "only dear sister." It was necessary that some account of the failure should be given to her. Something must be said to soothe her disappointment, and prevent her throwing herself into the arms of France, which, by way of securing a footing in the Palatinate, was ready to give the help which England denied. This was the King's part in the affair, and he performed it in the letter now before us. Every reader will be able to judge how he executed his task after the explanation which has been given. The letter, printed *verbatim et literatim*, runs as follows:—

* See Mrs. Green's life of Elizabeth of Bohemia, in *Lives of Princesses*, v. 533. We have consulted also the State Papers, both Foreign and Domestic, respecting this mission.

KING CHARLES I. TO ELIZABETH QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

MY ONLIE DEARE SISTER,

I hope shortlie to make a full dispatche to you by my Agent Boswell,^a therefore I shall say littell to you at this tyme, but that I hope ye believe that it is not my want of affection to your affaires, but Oxensternes want of instructions, that hes made him haue so ill succeſſe hithertoo in his negotiations, of which I hope alreddie you haue had some accounte; & so I rest

Your louing Brother to serue you,

CHARLES R.

Greenewiche the 13. of May, 1634.

I hope the haste of the bearer will excuse the abruptness of my letter.

[No address or seal.]

II.

The second Letter is one of great and peculiar interest—it is OLIVER CROMWELL's military despatch announcing his relief of Gainsborough, and the advance into the Eastern counties of the great body of royal troops under the command of the Earl of Newcastle. The circumstances were briefly these. The Earl, advancing southwards, met Lord Fairfax on the 30th June, 1643, on Atherton Moor, and totally defeated him. With the shattered remnant of his army Fairfax managed with great difficulty to escape into Hull, whilst the Earl pursued his onward course, driving the Parliamentary forces before him. In the mean time two other bodies of the Parliamentarians were advancing northward, one under Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Parliamentary Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, and the other under Cromwell. Lord Willoughby, by a rapid and skilful movement, surprised Gainsborough, which was held for the King by the Earl of Kingston, and took it by assault. Cromwell

^a Sir William Boswell, the King's diplomatic agent at the Hague.

in like manner captured Burghley House, built by the great Lord Treasurer, and then advanced to Grantham, which had lately been taken for the King by Colonel Charles Cavendish, second son of the Earl of Devonshire, and by him had been almost demolished. Cromwell's design was to move northward from Grantham to Gainsborough, taking with him supplies of ammunition and victuals for Lord Willoughby, who was already inclosed, if not besieged, by the forces of the King. Advancing the nearest way across Nottinghamshire, Cromwell effected a junction with three hundred cavalry from Nottingham, under Sir John Meldrum, at North Scarle. This was on Thursday evening the 27th July, 1643. Having paused there for a few hours' refreshment and sleep, at two o'clock the next morning he was again in motion, and advanced unmolested until he arrived within about a mile and a half from Gainsborough. There his farther progress was opposed by a body of the enemy under the command of the same Colonel Cavendish who had lately distinguished himself at Grantham. Here the incidents first related in the letter before us took place. Mr. Carlyle, who visited the spot when writing his work on Cromwell, describes the nature of the ground.* Without hesitation Cromwell led his soldiers to the attack, and was entirely victorious. Colonel Cavendish was killed, and the relieving forces safely delivered their supplies in Gainsborough.

Scarcely had Cromwell accomplished his work of relief, when intelligence arrived at Gainsborough that a force of the enemy was advancing upon the town from the north. Cromwell sent out his troops with the addition of 400 foot of Lord Willoughby's, all being under the command of Major Whalley, to reconnoitre. They soon fell in with the enemy, and ere long discovered that they were not opposed to a mere band of skirmishers, but to the advanced guard of the triumphant army of the Earl of Newcastle. The inequality of numbers was too great to venture a contest. Cromwell

* Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, i. 185, ed. 1846.

himself conducted the retreat, which was not effected without some little disorder and loss. Wearied with their day's work, the foot recovered Gainsborough, where they remained under the command of Lord Willoughby. Cromwell with the horse retreated to Huntingdon, whence he addressed the following letter to the Committee of the Association of the Eastern Counties:—

OLIVER CROMWELL TO SIR EDMUND BACON, SIR WILLIAM SPRING,
SIR THOMAS BARNARDISTON, AND MAURICE BARROW.

GENTLEMEN,—[Noe man desires more to præsent you with incoragments then my selfe, because of the forwardnesse I finde in you (to your honor bee it spoken) to promote this great cause, and truly God followes you wth incoragments, whoe is the God of blessings, and I beseech you lett him not loose his blessings vpon vs; they come in season, and with all the aduantages of hartninge, as if God should say, “Up and bee doeinge! and I will helpe you and stand by you.” There is nothing to bee feared but our owne sinn and sloath.]

It hath pleased the Lord to giue your seruant and souldiers a notable victorie now att Gainsbrowe. I marched, after the takinge of Burlye house, vpon Wedensday to Grantham, where mett mee about 300 horse and dragoones of Notingham. With theise, by agreement with the Linconers, wee mett att North Scarle, w^{ch} is about tenn miles from Gainsbrowe, vpon Thursday in the eueninge, where wee tarried vntill two of the clocke in the morninge, and then, with our whole body, aduanced towards Gainsbrowe. About a mile and halfe from y^e towne wee mett a forlorne hope of y^e enemie of neere 100. horse. Our dragoones labored to beate them backe; but, not alightinge off their horses,* the enemie charged them, [and beate some 4. or fiue of them off their horses. Our horse charged them,]

* Dragoons were at that time a kind of footmen on horseback. On service they generally alighted from their horses. They marched eleven in a rank, or file, and when they alighted to serve, the eleventh man held the horses of the ten. (Grose's Milit. Antiq. i. 111.)

and made them retyer vnto their maine body. Wee aduanced and came to the bottom of a steepe hill [vpon w^{ch} the enimie stood]. Wee could not well gett vp but by some tracts, w^{ch} our men assaynge to doe, a body of the enimie indeauored to hinder, wherein wee præuailed, and gott the top of the hill. This was donn by the Linconers, whoe had the vantgaurd. When wee all recouered the top of the hill, wee saw a great body of the enimies horse facing of vs att about muskitt shott or lesse distance, and a good reserue of a full regiment of horse behinde itt. Wee indeauored to putt our men into as good order as wee could, the enimie in the meane tyme aduancinge towards vs to take vs att disaduantage, but in such order as wee were wee charged their great body. I hauinge the right winge, wee came vp horse to horse, where wee disputed itt with our swords and pistolls a pretty tyme, all keepinge close order, soe that one could not breake the other. Att last they a little shrinkinge, our men perceauinge itt pressed in vpon them, and immediately routed this whole body, some flyinge on one side, others on the other, of the enimies reserue, and our men persuinge them had chase and execution about 5. or 6. miles. I perceauinge this body, w^{ch} was the reserue, standinge still vnbroken, kept backe my maior Whaley from the chase, and with my owne troupe and one other of my regiment, in all beinge 3. troupes, wee gott into a body. In this reserue stood Generall Cavendish, whoe one while faced mee, another while faced 4. of the Lincolne troopes, w^{ch} were all of ours that stood vpon the place, the rest beinge ingaged in the chase. Att last the Generall charged the Linconers, and routed them. I immediately fell on his reere with my three troupes, w^{ch} did soe astonish him that hee gaue ouer the chase, and would fayne haue deliuered himselfe from mee, but I pressing onn forced them downe a hill, hauinge good execution of them, and belowe the hill droue the generall wth some of his souldiers into a quagmier, where my Capt. Leiuettennant slew him with a thrust vnder his short ribbs.^a

^a The uncertainty of historical testimony is exemplified in the various versions of the death of Colonel, or, as Cromwell terms him, General, Cavendish. Cromwell says

The rest of the body was wholly routed, not one man stayinge vpon the place. Wee then,^a after this defeat, w^{ch} was soe totall, releiued the towne wth such powder and prouisions as wee brought; w^{ch} donn, wee had notice that there were 6. troupes of horse and 300. foote on the other side of the towne, about a mile off vs. Wee desired some foote of my Lord Willoghby, about 400, and with our horse and theise foote marched towards them. When wee came towards the place where their horse stood, wee beate backe with my troupes about 2. or 3. troupes of the enimie, whoe rettyred into a smale

above that he was driven into a quagmire, and there slain with a thrust under the short ribs. Another account of this affair (also signed by Cromwell) relates that one of Colonel Cromwell's men cut him on the head, by reason whereof he fell off his horse, and the Captain Lieutenant thrust him in the side, whereof within two hours he died. (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, iii. 470.) Another account, in Aubrey's *Lives*, ii. 276, says, that being out most dangerously in the head, he was struck off his horse, and so unfortunately shot with a brace of bullets after he was on the ground. Bishop Kennet, in his *Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish*, (p. 95,) upon the authority of a Life of Colonel Cavendish's mother (Christian daughter of Lord Bruce of Kinloss), says, that the Colonel was "murther'd in cold blood, after quarter given," by Colonel Bury, who made himself dear to Cromwell by this and some other acts of cruelty. Lloyd, in his *Memoirs* (p. 673), relates that Colonel Cavendish, being governor of Gainsborough, "issued out to the relief of the surprised Earl of Kingston, he was overpowered, and, his horse sticking in the mud, he died magnanimously, refusing quarter, and throwing the blood that ran from his wounds in their faces that shed it, with a spirit as great as his blood." It can scarcely be doubted that Cromwell's letter, and the other account signed by him, contain the truth, and that the rest are mere inventions of party prejudice. However Colonel Cavendish met his death, he was evidently a young man (just 23 years of age) of great promise. A thirst for travel had led him far beyond the limits of the Grand Tour. Forsaking his companion and tutor, he strayed away to Babylon, which he reached by taking service in the Turkish army. On his return to England, the civil war was just commencing. He naturally espoused the side of the King his godfather, and did so with ardour. After serving at Edgehill, he raised a regiment of horse, with which he performed his brief services at Grantham and elsewhere. Aubrey quotes from a funeral sermon preached for Colonel Cavendish, in which the preacher states that, "when Cromwell heard that he [the Colonel] was slain, he cried out, "We have done our business!" (ii. 277.) Very likely. For a brief space Colonel Cavendish had been the Rupert of the eastern side of England. On his death, and that of Markham his Lieutenant-Colonel, who was killed shortly before him, the power which had frightfully punished Grantham, and had ridden triumphant throughout that country, was at an end.

^a It is doubtful whether this word has not been struck out of the MS.

village att the bottom of the hill. When wee recovered the hill, wee sawe in the bottom, about a quarter of a mile from vs, a regiment of foote, after that another, after that Newcastle's owne regiment, consistinge in all of about 50. foote colours, and a great body of horse, w^{ch} indeed was Newcastle's armie, w^{ch} cominge soe vnexpectedlye putt vs to new consultations. My Lord Willoghby and I, beinge in the towne, agreed to call off our foote. I went to bringe them off; but before I returned diuerse of the foote were ingaged, the enimie aduancinge with his whole body. Our foote retraits in some disorder, and with some losse gott the towne, where now they are. Our horse alsoe came off with some trouble, beinge wearied wth the longe fight, and their horses tyred; yett faced the enimies fresh horse, and by severall remoues got off without the losse of one man, the enimie followinge in the reere with a great body. The honor of this retraits is due to God, as alsoe all the rest. Maior Whaley did in this carry himselfe with all gallantrie becomminge a gentleman and a Christian.

Thus haue you this true relation, as short as I could. What you are to doe vpon it is next to bee considered. [If I could speake words to peirce your harts, with the sence of our and your condition, I would. If you will raise 2000. foote att the present, to encounter this armie of Newcastle's, to raise the seige, and to inable vs to fight him, wee doubt not by the grace of God but that wee shalbe able to releiue the towne and beate the enimie onn the other side Trent; whereas if somewhat bee not donn in this, you will see Newcastle's armie march vp into your bowells, beinge now as it is on this side Trent. I know it wilbe difficult to raise thus many in soe short tyme, but lett mee assuer you its necessarie, and therefore to bee donn. Att least doe what you may, with all possible expedition. I would I had the happinesse to speake wth one of you. Truly I cannot come ouer, but must attend my charge, our enimie is vigilant.] The Lord direct you what to doe. Gentlemen, I am

Your faythfull servant,

OLIUER CROMWELL.

July 31. 1643.
Huntington.

[Giue this gentleman credence. Hee is worthy to bee trusted. Hee knowes the vrgency of our affaires better then my selfe. If hee giue you intelligence in point of tyme of hast to bee made, beleue him. Hee will aduise for your good.]

[Addressed]—To my noble friend's Sr Edmon
Bacon, k^t. & barronet, Sr Will^m Springe,
knights and barronetts, Sr Thomas Bernardis-
ton, kg^t, Maurice Barrowe, esq., present
theise.^a

Readers acquainted with the admirable work of Mr. Carlyle will at once recollect that the facts here detailed have been published before. True; Mr. Carlyle published what is called this very letter, from Rushworth,^b who probably obtained it from some contemporary newspaper. But Rushworth's authority was a mere castrated copy, put forth by authority at a time of great public danger, when nothing but what might be looked upon as in some degree good news was permitted to see the light. We have given the whole letter as it stands in the original, indicating the passages unknown to Rushworth and Carlyle by printing them within brackets.

The letter as it is now presented is one which does not attempt to disguise the danger of the position of affairs. It admits the

^a The persons here addressed require a brief note. Sir Edmund Bacon of Redgrave was son of Sir Nicholas, the premier Baronet of England, and grandson of the Lord Keeper; nephew therefore by the half blood of Francis Bacon the Lord Chancellor. Sir William Spring of Pakenham was created a Baronet by King Charles I. 11th August, 1641. The baronetage is extinct, but the name is remembered in the family of Lord Monteagle of Brandon, who is descended from the Springs of Lavenham, the original stock of those of Pakenham. Sir Thomas Barnardiston, created a Baronet in 1663, was the eldest son of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston of Ketton or Kedington in Suffolk, a person of great eminence, five times member for the county of Suffolk. Maurice Barrow was the only son of William Barrow, at one time of Huningham Hall, co. Norfolk, and afterwards of Westthorp in Suffolk.—(Blomefield, i. 684, ed. 1739, and Nichols's Topog. and Genealogist, ii. 167.)

^b Rushworth's Collections, v. 278. Besides this letter, Carlyle has printed another letter descriptive of this Gainsborough fight, addressed to the Speaker by Cromwell and two of the Lincolnshire committee-men, in which the facts are detailed substantially in the same manner. (Appendix, No. IV. vol. iii. p. 470.)

urgency of the peril to the full. It warns the Committee that without the greatest exertion on their part, Newcastle's overpowering army would march up unimpeded into "the bowels" of that part of the country, for the defence of which they were responsible. In this state of public danger, the writer urges them, in language the seriousness and power of which every one will acknowledge, to do what they may with all possible expedition. He appeals to past successes as God's encouragements, as if He should say, "Up and be doing! and I will help you and stand by you," and assures them that if he could speak words to pierce their hearts with the sense of their condition he would do so. Not a word of this forcible and characteristic appeal appears in Rushworth.

Dr. Dibdin, who formerly saw this letter in the possession of Mr. Dawson Turner, quoted a portion of the opening sentence in his *Ædes Althorpianæ*, p. lx., which, being totally unlike anything in the letter as found in Rushworth, led to the conclusion that there were in existence two separate letters written by Cromwell alone, as well as the one written in conjunction with others, all descriptive of Gainsborough fight. The letter as now published shows merely that, in printing this letter, Rushworth or Rushworth's authority omitted what was really the most characteristic portion.

III.

LETTER III. is from the great naval hero ROBERT BLAKE. In 1653 the victories over the Dutch had raised the glory of the country to a height scarcely ever attained again until the days of Trafalgar. Whilst the statesmen of the Commonwealth were settling the terms of the peace which Blake and his companions had won, he himself, wounded and out of health, recruited his strength in the repose of a modest residence situate near his native town of Bridgewater.^a But the government of the day was not one which could long allow him to be unoccupied: there were other wrongs to be

^a Dixon's Life of Blake, p. 266.

redressed, other enemies to be chastised. Two strong fleets were equipped. One was sent to the West Indies under the command of Penn and Venables. Another, destined to act nearer home, but the precise objects of which were kept secret, was entrusted to Blake. The following letter was written by him from aboard his ship the *St. George*, or the *George*, as it was then termed, lying at the Nore, and there taking in victuals. His lieutenant had returned some defective stores, but had omitted to send notice to the Commissioners of the Navy. The fault was officially a very grave one, and advantage was taken of it by a Mr. Bignall, perhaps an officer of the victualler, who complained to the Commissioners. Blake states the facts, and admits the blameworthiness of the lieutenant, with all a sailor's candour. He then turns round upon the informer, and shows that the balance of misconduct is rather against him than against the lieutenant.

ADMIRAL ROBERT BLAKE TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received yours of the 25 inst., in which you write that Mr. Bignall hath informd you of a hoy sent vp with victuals returned from the *George*, without any notice thereof given to you. I find vpon examinacion that there hath bin sent vp by the lieftenant five hogsheads and a barrell of beefe, one barrell of porke, and 17 bags of bisket, which vpon survey was found defective and vn-serviceable; but the lieftenant I confes was to blame for not sending you an account thereof; yet I am glad that Mr. Bignall hath geuen you this informacion, because possibly it may bring somewhat else to light, and I beleeeve, had I not ben very strict in requiring of his mate an account of what victuals was actually on bord the ship, this informacion would have bin forborne, for Mr. Bignall coming aboard on Saturday last in the afternoone, and hauing vnderstood of my strict inquisition [into?]^a the state of the victuals, did the same night

* The word is worn away.

returne, without geuing me or the captain any notice of his going; and in truth, it is, and hath bin, a vsuall thing with him to be absent from his charge, and his great care now is, to my knowledge, to get a deputation that he may not go to sea. I haue somewhat else to say when we meet, which I hope will be very shortly. In the meane time I desire you, if it be not done already, to hasten downe the remainder of the proporcion of victuals according to the note which I presume Mr. Hempson hath shewne to you. There is left in the Hope the Pr. Marie to receive it in, if it come in time. And I am perswaded the best way to prevent such inconvenients for the future will be a severe examination of such as Mr. Bignall, of whome I haue had some former experience. I shall take the best care that may be here; which is all at present from

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

ROB: BLAKE.

Abord the George, off the Boye of the Noure, 27 Jul. '54.

[Addressed] For the Right Worshipfull the Commissioners
for the Navy sitting at Tower Hill, London.

IV.

LETTER IV. is from one who learned the art of silence as well as that of maritime warfare in the school of Blake, and who lived to turn the former to account—GEORGE MONK, the future Duke of Albemarle. From the pleasant house of Dalkeith he had now for several years governed Scotland with firmness, and without much open dissatisfaction. His leaning to the exiled sovereign was universally suspected. Even Cromwell, to whom Monk was sincerely attached, did not hesitate to write jokingly to him on the subject. Monk treated the suspicion with affected candour and some show of indignation, and continued to report from time to time to the authorities in England so much of the information respecting "Charles

Stuart" which came to his knowledge as he thought it prudent to communicate. Persevering in this quiet steady policy, he fixed himself in the affections of his soldiery, whom he kept with great care in a state of the highest military efficiency.

When Oliver Cromwell died, Monk attended personally at the proclamation in Edinburgh of Richard, but both army and people received the announcement coldly, and among them were not a few who did not hesitate to declare that "old George" would be a far better Protector than "Dick Cromwell."

When the second protectorate fell to the ground, Monk looked on in silence. He pretended not to see what was passing at Westminster. It was not until the republican party began openly to divide, and the army in England to interfere with the civil government, that Monk seemed to awake. The old royalists, full of feverish anxiety, were always on the move, but their movements were mere spontaneous and ill-considered ebullitions of feeling, which ended only in disaster. Monk's proceedings were characteristically cautious and deliberate. At the date of the following letter there were three distinct series of operations going on at the same moment. The Royalists in the North of England were preparing for their fatal rising under Sir George Booth; the English army and the mutilated fragment of the Parliament were rapidly approaching to an avowed contest; whilst Monk, as will appear from the following letter, was blinding the two parties who were disputing at Westminster by sending them intelligence of "Charles Stuart's very great design," with which they were far better acquainted than he was; and at the same time, as if altogether immersed in the business of his government, was soliciting them to adopt measures to enable him to quiet the people of Scotland—measures which it was scarcely possible for them even to think of during a period of such extreme uncertainty and confusion.

Such is the state of affairs opened before us in the following

letter. A glance at what was going on during the same month at the court of Charles II. will complete the picture.

Among all the adherents of Charles II. no one did so much to promote the Restoration as Sir John Grenville, son of the royalist hero who died on Lansdown above Bath. Sir John and General Monk were cousins, and there was an intimacy between Sir John and Nicholas Monk, a brother of the general, and a clergyman. The living of Kilkhampton, in Devonshire, in which parish stood the seat of the Grenvilles, chanced to fall vacant in 1658. Sir John, who had the right of presentation, gave the living, which was of some value, to Nicholas Monk, and in the course of interviews on that occasion the patron and incumbent came to an understanding respecting their political hopes and feelings. Twelve months afterwards Sir John heard that Nicholas Monk was about to proceed into Scotland to visit his brother. A daughter of Nicholas had been staying at Dalkeith, with her uncle the general. A proposal of marriage for the young lady had been made to her father, and he was about to take a journey into the North to communicate the offer, and to confer thereon with the general. Sir John Grenville seized upon this circumstance as affording an opportunity to bring about a confidential communication between Charles II. and the general. He wrote upon the subject to Hyde, then with the King at Brussels. Ever ready to take advantage of any opening, Hyde forwarded to Sir John Grenville two autograph letters from the King, one addressed to Sir John and the other to General Monk. In the former the King authorised Grenville to offer Monk such an estate in land, and such a title of honour, as himself should desire, with such rewards (to the extent, it is said, of 100,000*l.* per annum for ever,) to his officers as he should think fit to promise them. In the other letter the King offered to leave the way and manner of the restoration entirely to Monk's judgment, and agreed to comply with any advice he might give. These

letters were dated on the $\frac{1}{2}1$ of the same month in which the following letter is dated. Nicholas Monk was asked to convey them to his brother. He started aside aghast at the danger of having such papers in his possession. But he committed them to memory, and on his arrival at Dalkeith communicated their contents to his brother. From the moment Monk's own selfish interests were secure, the Restoration may be said to have been accomplished; all that followed was the mere playing out a game of which the end was predetermined. These were among the events of July 1659.

GENERAL GEORGE MONK TO LORD WARRISTON, LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT WHITEHALL.*

MY LORD,

I received your Lordshippes of the 28th of June, and make bold to acquaint you, that I heare that Charles Stuart hath laid a very great designe both in England and Ireland, but as yett I heare of nothing that hee hath written over to this country concerning that businesse. I am confident if hee had I should have heard of itt; butt I could wish that for the setling of the mindes of this nation, there were at present soe much power given to some Judges vppon the place heere for the carrying on of the businesse of the civill Courts of Justice, as they vsed to have in the intervalls of Sessions, and likewise the Act of Union, and pardon and grace, and that the Articles that were given by my self vppon the setling of this country vppon the last rebellion may bee confirmd, which would bee a meanes to settle the mindes of this people very much, and truly, soe they had butt justice open, and these thinges assured to them, I doe beleive they would bee generallie well satisfied with the governe-ment, butt till this bee done their mindes are in a distracted condition. I thought fitt to acquaint you with this, that you may bee

* Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, Lord of Session in Scotland, and one of Oliver Cromwell's peers. Burnet, who was his nephew, gives his character and many particulars of his sad history. (Own Times, i. 48, 350, ed. 1823.)

pleased to putt these businesses on with as much expedition as may bee ; which is all att present from

Your Lordshippes very
humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 5^o July, 1659.

Lord Wareston.

[Addressed]—For the right honourable the Lord
Wareston, Lord President of the Council of
State, att Whitehall.

[Seal.] A chevron between three lion's heads erased.

V.

LETTER V., from CHARLES II. to the Earl of Lauderdale, conveys to the Earl his Majesty's full approval of his conduct in the management of a parliament in Scotland, and especially in relation to the project of a union between the two countries—one of the few measures in the reign of this sovereign, of which every one will now approve. But it was not favourably regarded at the time it was proposed. Jealousies innumerable interfered with its progress towards completion. "An act was passed for a treaty about it, and, in the following summer, in a subsequent session, commissioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progress; and the thing fell so soon, that it was very visible it was never intended in earnest." (Burnet's Own Times, i. 492, ed. 1823.)

Only two persons besides the King are brought before us in this letter; the Royal Commissioner Lauderdale and "Robin Moray." Both live in Burnet's pages in such curious contrast that we cannot but quote what he says of them. Of the former, the Bishop remarks, "I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance: he was very big: his hair red, hanging oddly about him: his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all

that he talked to, and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a court. He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern; so that he had great materials, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression, abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him; that would rather provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind; he was to be let alone, and perhaps he would have forgot what he had said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at first seemed to despise wealth; but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality, and by that means he ran into a vast expense and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment^a he had great impressions of religion on his mind; but he wore them out so entirely that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him, could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against popery and arbitrary government; and yet, by a fatal train of passions and interests, he was for the former, and had almost established the latter. And whereas some by a smooth deportment made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and unacceptable, he by the

^a [During the Commonwealth.]

fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition than the legality of justice. With all this he was a Presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King Charles I. and his party to his death." (Own Times, i. 173.)

To this frightful character, that of Sir Robert Murray stands in striking opposition; in writing it, at any event at the commencement, the Bishop seems to have had in view Clarendon's character of William Earl of Pembroke. "He was the most universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts of any man I have ever known in my own life. He was a pious man, and in the midst of armies and courts he spent many hours a day in devotion, which was in a most elevating strain. He had gone through the easy parts of mathematics, and knew the history of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like Peireski as he is described by Gassendi. He was afterwards the first former of the Royal Society, and its first president; and while he lived he was the life and soul of that body. He had an equality of temper in him that nothing could alter; and was in practice the only Stoic I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles, for he was much for absolute decrees. He had a most diffused love to all mankind, and he delighted in every occasion of doing good, which he managed with great discretion and zeal. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension to most men; and had the plainest but with all the softest way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults, that I ever met with." (Own Times, i. 101.)

KING CHARLES II. TO THE EARL, AFTERWARDS DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

Whithall, 2 Nouember 1669.

Though Robin Moray has by my derrections answerd your letters, and tould you how well I am satisfied with your proceedings in Scotland, yett I cannot forbear the repeating it to you my selfe, and

withall to tell you the true sence I have of your industry and dexterity in the whole proceedings. I shall not say any thing particularly now concerning the vnion, because Robin has at large tould you my thoughts in order to what is to be done on your parts, which I thinke you will aprooue of when you consider the length of our Parlament deliberations heere, and how inconvenient a long sessions there would be in all respects. I shall say no more to you now but to assure you of my kindnesse and constant frindship.

C. R.

[Addressed]—For my Lord Commissioner.

[Seal.]—A lozenge-shaped seal, bearing, on a shield, under a crown, quarterly, 1. and 4. France and England; 2. Scotland; 3. Ireland. The shield had the letter C. on one side and R. on the other, but in the present case the seal has not been so placed on the wax as to give an impression of the C.

[Indorsed]—From King Charles the 2d to y^e Duke of Lauderdale, 1669.

A list of the commissioners alluded to by Burnet as having gone up to London "to treat about it" is an apt illustration of the preceding letter.

VI.

LIST OF COMMISSIONERS NOMINATED BY KING CHARLES II. TO TREAT ABOUT THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

CHARLES R.

The nams of the tuentie-fyue comissioners nominated by his Ma^{tie} for the kingdome of Scotland to the treatie of wnione.

The Commissioner.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews.

The L^d Chancelour.

The L^d Privie Seal.
The E. of Athole.
The Earle of Home.
The E. of Dumfermling.
The E. of Lothiane.
The E. of Tueeddale.
The E. of Kincardine.
Bishope of Dumblain.
Bishope of Galloway.
L^d Register.
L^d Adwocat.
L^d Hattone.
L^d Stairs.
Lord Newbyth.
Mr. William Arskine.
S^r Rob. Morray.
S^r Archbald Morray of Blakbaronie.
S^r Robert Synclair.
S^r Alex. Frasser.
S^r William Bruc.
S^r Andrew Ramsay.
S^r Patrik Morray.

The list as originally prepared comprised the names of "S^r Georg Lokart," "S^r Francis Scott," and "S^r Jhone Harper." These names were struck out, and those of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Earl of Home, and Lord Newbyth were inserted in their stead. Galloway was also inserted as the title of the Bishop after "Dumblain," which was left blank in the original.

VII.

LETTER VII. is one of the most curious of this valuable selection. From the business we pass at once into the midst of what was

esteemed "the pleasure" of the reign of Charles II. NELL GWYNNE, it is well known, could not write. Receipts have been found among the Exchequer Documents signed with her rudely formed initials, E. G., but only one letter authenticated in that manner has hitherto been published. That letter is printed in Cunningham's amusing Story of Nell Gwynne, p. 151, and is singularly like the present one in style, although from Cunningham's description it is peculiarly unlike it in character of handwriting. It may therefore be inferred that both were dictated by the lady herself.

The date of the letter now published may be approached with certainty. The writer mentions her eldest son, Lord Burford, who was created a peer by that title in 1676 (Courthope, p. 83); again, she mentions her youngest son, Lord Beauclerk, as being about to go into France. Lord Beauclerk died in Paris in 1680 (Cunningham, p. 150.) The date therefore lies between 1676 and 1680. Again she says, "We don't know whether we shall have peace or war." There was no question of peace or war during the reign of Charles II. after the treaty of Nimiguen, which was ratified on the 8th August 1678. The probability seems to be that this letter was written in the June of that year.

Of the letter itself it is not too much to say that it is scarcely possible to conceive a composition more singularly characteristic, both in style and contents. As to the former, it possesses the qualities which in all probability distinguished the conversation of Nell Gwynne herself—"the indiscreetest and wildest creature that ever was in a court."^a It is lively, emphatic, free-spoken, hearty, clever, and vulgar. It relates to a host of the *roués* and loose fish of the Court of Charles II. In the midst of this disreputable group appears the King. Nothing that has ever been published is calculated to produce a livelier impression of the state of the Court of Charles II., than this most singular effusion.

^a Burnet's Own Times, i. 457, ed. 1823.

NELL GWYNNE TO MR. HYDE.

pray Deare Mr. Hide^a forgive me for not writeing to you before now for the reasone is I have bin sick thre months & sinse I recoverd I have had nothing to intertaine you withall nor have nothing now worth writing but that I can holde no longer to let you know I never have ben in any companie wethout drinking your health for I loue you with all my soule. the pel mel is now to me a dismale plase sinse I have uterly lost Sr Car Scrope^b never to be recourd agane for he tould me he could not live allwayes at this rate & so begune to be a littel uncivil, which I could not sufer from an uglye *baux garson*. M^s Knights^c Lady mothers dead & she has put up a scutchin no beiger then my Lady grins scunchis.^d My Lord Rochester^e is gon in the cuntrei. M^r Savil^f has got a misfortune, but is upon recovery & is to mary an hairres, who I thinke wont wont [*sic*] have an ill time ont if he holds up his thumb. My lord of

^a Mr. Hide is conjectured to have been the handsome Lory or Lawrence Hyde, second son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, created Earl of Rochester in 1682. In May and June 1678 he was at the Hague on diplomatic business. (Correspondence of Clarendon and Rochester, i. 16, 20.)

^b Sir Carr Scrope was created a Baronet 1667-8, and died unmarried in 1680. He was one of the witty companions of Charles II., and author of various poetical effusions, to be found in Dryden's Miscellanies. Johnson notices him in his life of Rochester.

^c Mrs. Knight, a singer of great celebrity, and a rival to Nell Gwynne in the tender regard of Charles II. She is mentioned by both Evelyn and Pepys, although the latter had not heard her sing up to the period at which his diary closes. The name of her Lady-mother has not been found.

^d Probably the writer misplaced the *n* in this word, writing *scunchis* for *scuchins*. We have not been able to identify Lady Green.

^e John Wilmot, the poetical Earl of Rochester, who, as Johnson remarked, "blazed out his youth and his health in lavish voluptuousness," and with "avowed contempt of all decency and order." The history of the contrast presented by the close of his life is a well-known book by Bishop Burnet. He died on the 26th July, 1680; at the age of 34.

^f The gentleman who could govern by rule of thumb was Henry Savile, the future Vice-Chamberlain, for whom see the Savile Correspondence, edited by Mr. W. D. Cooper for the Camden Society in 1858. The projected marriage did not come off.

Dorscit^a apiers wonse in thre munths, for he drinkes aile with Shadwell^b & Mr Haris^c at the Dukes house all day long. my Lord Burford^d remimbers his sarvis to you. my Lord Baucldre^e is is [*sic*] goeing into france. we are a goeing to supe with the king at whit-hall & my lady Harvie.^f the King remembers his sarvis to you. now lets talke of state affairs, for we never caried things so cunningly as

^a The Earl of Dorset was one of the wildest of the mad companions of the merry monarch. His doings are written at large in all the scandalous chronicles of that period. Nell Gwynne was living with him as his mistress when the King took a fancy to her, and the terms of the bargain and sale by which she was transferred to the sovereign may be read in Cunningham, p. 68. Dorset or Buckhurst, for the latter was his title whilst Nell Gwynne lived with him, is more creditably known by his song "To all you ladies now at land," and by his conduct at the close of the reign of James II. His life is included among Johnson's Lives of the Poets.

^b Thomas Shadwell the poet, who owed to the influence of the Earl of Dorset his appointment as laureate on the ejection of Dryden at the Revolution of 1688. However mean his poetry, his conversation is said to have been highly witty and amusing. From his companionship with Rochester and Dorset, it is not to be wondered at that it was also often indecent and profane.

^c Joseph Harris, a celebrated actor, whom some people put upon a par with Betterton. His principal characters were Henry V. and Cardinal Wolsey. As may be supposed from the connexion in which we here find his name, he was one of the free livers of that dissolute period. Pepys, although he admits that the "mad talk" of Harris and his companions made "his heart ache," (iv. 458), describes Harris himself as a man of most attractive qualities. "I do find him a very excellent person, such as in my whole acquaintance I do not know another better qualified for converse, whether in things of his own trade or of other kind; a man of great understanding and observation, and very agreeable in the manner of his discourse, and civil as far as is possible. I was mightily pleased with his company." Lord Braybrooke stated in a note to Pepys (ii. 196) that Harris probably died or left the stage about 1676. The present letter postpones that date for a year or two.

^d Lord Burford, as we have already noticed, was the elder of Nell Gwynne's two children by the King. He was born 8th May, 1670, created Lord Burford on the 27th December, 1676, and Duke of St. Alban's on the 10th Jan. 1683-4.

^e Lord Beauclerk, Nell Gwynne's younger son, was born 25th December, 1671, and died, as we have before remarked, at Paris, in September 1680.

^f Lady Harvey was Elizabeth, sister of Ralph third Lord Montagu of Boughton, afterwards Earl and Duke of Montague. Elizabeth married Sir Daniel Harvey, a conspicuous person at that time; as ranger of Richmond Park, he gave shelter in his house to Lady Castlemaine during her quarrels with Charles II. Her ladyship, according to Pepys, rewarded Lady Harvey by encouraging "Doll Common," or Mrs. Cory, who was the

Cancelled

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now for we dont know whether we shall have pesce or war, but I am for war and for no other reason but that you may come home. I have a thousand merry conseets, but I cant make her write um & therefore you must take the will for the deed. god bye. your most loueing obedunt faithfull & humbel

sarvant

E. G.

* * On the suggestion of several Members of the Council of the Camden Society, and from a persuasion that it is advisable to trace the possession of valuable manuscripts, and to record the prices paid for them at sales, Mr. Tite permits us to add the following particulars respecting his acquisition of all these letters, except that of Charles I., the time and manner of the purchase of which have been forgotten.

That of Cromwell came out of the collection of Mr. Dawson Turner, sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, in June 1859, lot 588. It was purchased at £ 47 5s.

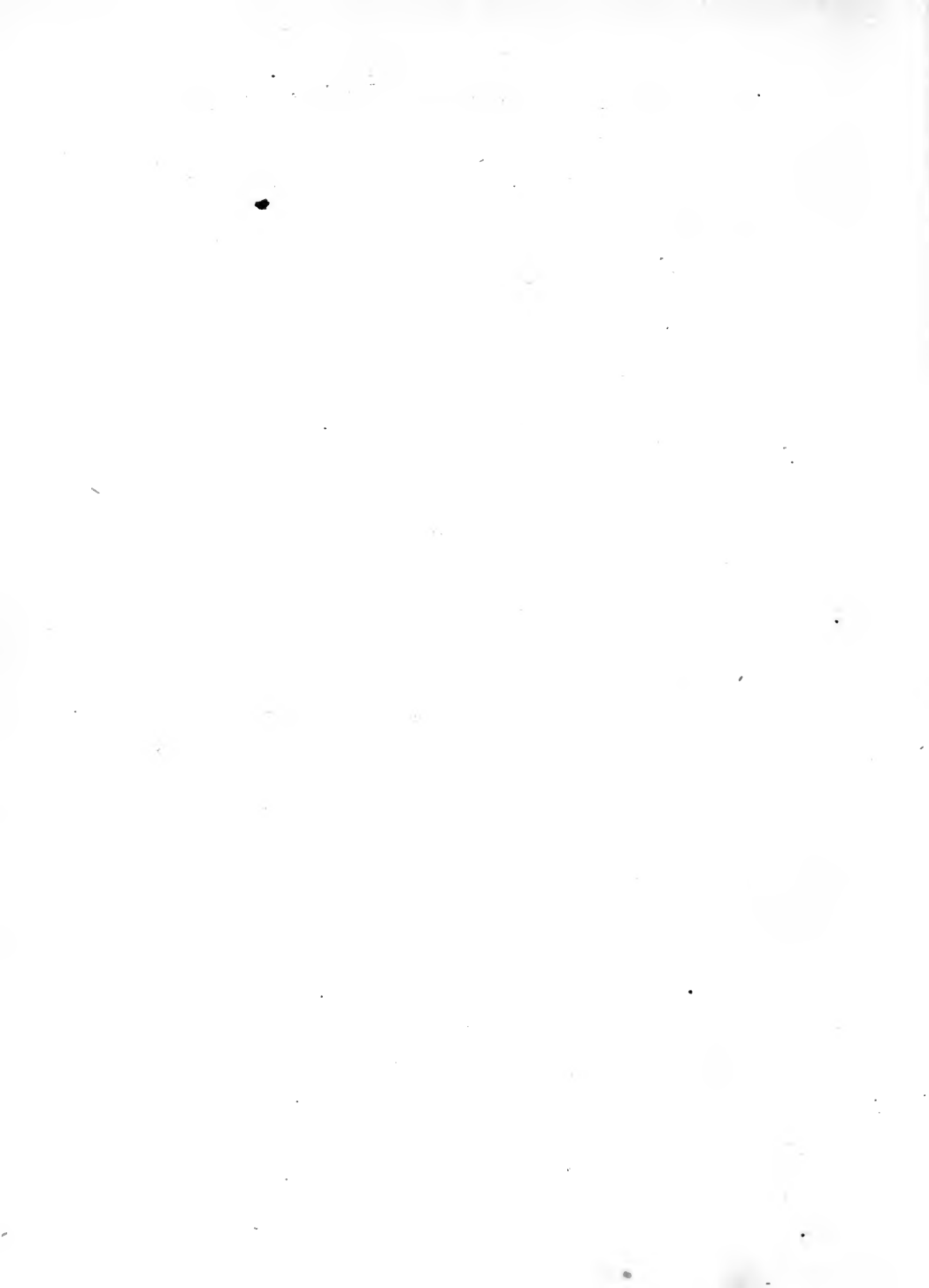
That of Blake was bought from a private collection sold at Messrs. Sotheby's, lot 80, August 2, 1851, and cost £ 2 12s. 6d.

That of Monk was purchased out of Mr. John Wilson Croker's collection, sold by Messrs. Sotheby in May 1859, lot 123, £ 4.

That of Charles II., with the illustrative paper, were lots 154 and 155 in a sale at Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's, on the 16th of July, 1859, and were purchased at £ 6 19s. 6d.

Finally, the letter of Nell Gwynne was purchased at Mr. Singer's sale by Messrs. Sotheby, on the 3rd August, 1858. It was lot 80, and produced £ 3 12s.

distinguished representative of that character, to mimic Lady Harvey on the stage, in the character of Sempronia. Lady Harvey "provided people to hiss her and fling oranges at her," and, that being unsuccessful, procured the Lord Chamberlain to imprison her. Lady Castlemaine "made the King to release her," and a great disturbance was excited both in the theatre and at court. In the mean time Sir Daniel Harvey was sent away ambassador to Constantinople.





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